

1780
LETTERS

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TO

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Two Great MEN.

THE FIRST

To the Earl of E*****t;

THE SECOND

To the Earl of B***e.

In which is a beautiful Anecdote concerning His Majesty King GEORGE, III.

*Odi profanum vulgus et arceo,
Favete linguis*

HOR.



L O N D O N:

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(Price One Shilling.)

THE FIRST

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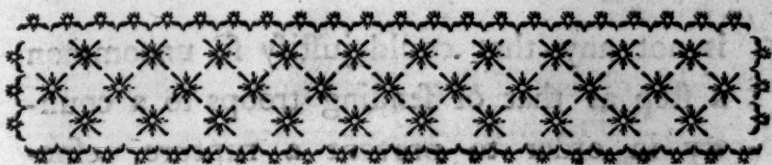
TO THE FIRST

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A

LETTER

To _____

My LORD,

THE importance of the subject occasioning this correspondence, being in some measure sufficient to plead for the boldness of this address, with one of your Lordship's temper and ability, I shall, without any further apology, proceed to what is principally intended, a remonstrance upon the scheme of sending a part of our land-forces to Portugal.

What information, your Lordship, or the other servants, about the person of the King, may have received, concerning the designs of Spain, upon the Portuguese, sure there

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is not any that could justify so uncommon a step as that of sending troops to a country in order to prevent a rupture, especially at a time when the Spanish Ambassador * at the court of Lisbon, had, in the name of his Master solemnly renounced all claims upon the kingdom of Portugal, or any of its appendages; and that upon the other hand, his most faithful Majesty had openly declared his fixed resolution to maintain the strictest neutrality: nor does it appear, that previous to the order for sending troops thither, any actual hostilities were committed between the Spaniards and them. No Nation goes to war with another without first endeavouring to secure themselves on the side of their neighbours, and particularly from any annoyance that may be offered by the Crown most contiguous to them.

The court of Madrid could not be blamed for being anxious about the part, which that of Lisbon was to take, in case of a rupture with Great-Britain. In the memorial presented by the Spanish Ambassador, there is no air of haughtiness, no offence to dignity,

no

* See the Declaration on the 9th of March, 1762.

no insult or arrogance; and if the spirited-
 ness of a declaration be blameable, that
 from the court of Lisbon, was much more
 spirited than that from the court of Madrid;
 when his most faithful Majesty declares,
 “ That he had no cause of quarrel, either
 “ with Spain, or with England, and there-
 “ fore intended to preserve a strict neutra-
 “ lity; that his ports would be open both to
 “ English and Spanish ships, provided, they
 “ conformed to the proper laws and cus-
 “ toms: but, that if either power, attempt-
 “ ed to encroach on his rights of sovereign-
 “ ty, by obliging him to depart from the
 “ neutrality he would wish to preserve, he
 “ should repel, force by force, and appeal to
 “ all Europe for the injustice that was done
 “ him”.

My Lord, 'tis justly observed by a wise
 statesman, that a paper war, is not deadly,
 and seldom or never after the exchange of
 two or three broadsides this way, do they
 proceed to try their skill at other weapons,
 unless enticed to it, as, in the case before us,
 for the natural enemies of Great-Britain have

kept invariably in their eye, a grand and principal object: To involve her in a war upon the continent, well knowing, that if she only exert her strength in the natural way, there is no standing before her.

It will, my Lord, be found upon examination, that the court of Spain did not seriously think of attacking Portugal, until the language of the British court was told at the Escorial; and, who can blame the Catholic King, for doing every thing to distress a power, with whom he was at war. The business of the Spaniard is to involve Britain in a land war; but, it was the business and interest of Great-Britain to avoid it.

'Tis a saying, my Lord, of the highest authority, to beware of being Righteous overmuch, a wholesome advice indeed, with regard to individuals, but much more to states and kingdoms; for as Cicero observes, "A too scrupulous fulfilling of engagements often tends to the detriment and loss of those who do so." The duty very often changes with the occasion, and as in all cases
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we ought to consult the publick good, which is the very basis and foundation of treaties: so neither ought we too readily to fulfill these engagements, which, in the completion of them, may be unprofitable to the promiser, and more hurtful to the promiser, and at the same time advantageous to the enemy.

Every person knows, that the treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, was in consequence of a marriage between King Charles II. and the princess Katherine of Lisbon, who had for her portion 300,000*l.* and the fort of Tangier. This required some considerable acknowledgment, especially at a time when the royal family of Portugal, the house of Braganca, was not so firmly established as now: and tho' no revolution was ever concerted with more secrecy, planned with more address and judgment, and carried into execution with more vigour, and alacrity; yet, there were still some malignants among the Portuguese. And the King of Spain watched every opportunity to recover that flourishing kingdom, from which the spirited conduct of the inhabitants had so lately expelled him.

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The most sanguine advocates for the religious observation of the faith of Treaties, cannot with any degree of justice, pretend that the circumstances now, and at the time of concluding the treaty between King Charles II^d. and the Queen Mary Frances Elizabeth of Savoy Nemours, or between him and Don Pedro, who forsaking the party of France and Spain; as these were endeavouring to reinstate the weak, the brutal and delirious Alphonso on the throne of Portugal, are the same: and beside Britain being at this very time engaged in a land war, might easily apologize for not literally fulfilling that part of the treaty by which they are engaged to furnish 14,000 land forces to the Portuguese.

But, my Lord, the words of the article itself are; in my humble opinion, the best argument, against sending land forces, at this time into Portugal. “ It is further ratified
 “ and agreed, between their most sacred Ma-
 “ jesties, of England and Portugal, that in
 “ case any attempt shall be made, either
 “ by the subjects of Portugal, or by
 “ the crowns of France and Spain, or by
 “ any

“ any other Potentate, to reinstate Don Al-
 “ phonso in the sovereignty ; or if these, or
 “ any other powers, shall attack, the king-
 “ dom of Portugal, then his most sacred Ma-
 “ jesty the King of England, shall endea-
 “ vour by good offices, to compromise every
 “ difference, and if such friendly efforts prove
 “ ineffectual, he will then, and in that case
 “ assist the King and kingdom of Portugal
 “ with 14,000 men, and 30 men of war”: If,
 my Lord, your Lordship will be pleased to pe-
 ruse the treaty itself, either in the Latin, or
 the Portuguese language, you will find the
 translation to be just, and literal ; which
 being the case ; it is evident from the words
 of the treaty, and indeed, from the nature of
 the thing, that England was not to send any
 troops to the assistance of Portugal, until that
 kingdom was attacked ?

One part of the assistance stipulated to
 Portugal, by King Charles II. King Wil-
 liam III. and at the treaty of Utrech, begun
 to be literally fulfilled, on the very day of
 our declaring war against Spain : The coast
 of Portugal has frequently been the scene
 of

of action, between the Spanish and English fleets; frequently ships of war, have been blown up nigh the rock of Lisbon, witness the destruction of the Dartmouth, in the last war, and the total overthrow of the French squadron commanded by M. de Clue, in this; so that there is no need of sending 20 ships of the line in a particular manner to Lisbon, to assist against Spain, since the whole British Navy, may sooner or later have a brush with the Dons, near the Tagus, and that they daily parade along the coast of Portugal.

To interfere in disputes before it be absolutely necessary, is not agreeable to true policy, and is contrary to the general good which every treaty ought to consider as its foundation and basis: this would be to copy strictly the conduct of France, in respect to the affairs of the Empire, for under the pretext of guarantying the treaty of Westphalia, the French army, on every petty difference between the inferior Princes, march into Germany, carrying like Samson's foxes, fire in their tails, and doing more hurt to their friends, than to their enemies.

I take it for granted, my Lord, that no Spanish troops entered the territories of Portugal, prior to the order given for a body of British troops to be transported thither, at least, prior to the 17th of April, the day when 100 matrosses from the artillery, and the baggage, of the officers was shipp'd at the Tower, in which case, we have involved ourselves in a second land war, and not only ourselves, but likewise the Portuguese : indeed the court of Madrid, was marching her troops within a few leagues of the frontiers of Portugal, but what then ? Is not every potentate, nay every landlord, possessed of an estate, at full liberty to do what he pleases upon his own property, and where can troops be better employed than upon the frontier ? the forces of Spain, were doing nothing to the disadvantage of Portugal, at least, not such things, as might draw Great Britain, to be Righteous over much, to do more than the treaty required, or to send forces into Portugal before that kingdom was actually attacked ; no manifestos had been published against the court of Lisbon ; the ties of blood that united the two kings were

strong, an uninterrupted trade existed between their subjects, the bonds arising from gratitude * and treaty, were recent, and could not be loosed without pain; in a word there was not the least appearance of a war between them, until the threatnings of G--B-, doubled their preparations, for the defence of themselves, and of their frontiers; nor was it known in L-----n that any attack, was really intended upon Portugal, until the 17th of April 1762, when the publick papers, abounded with the march of Spanish troops, to Zamora, Civdad, Rodrigo, and Salamanca; which last, is the most famous seminary of learning, next to Rome, in the whole Roman Catholic countries, there being in it no less than 10,000 Students of Divinity, which gave rise to the proverb, Gallica Aristotelem dal Salamanca Deum. Will any person, my Lord, take upon him to say, that the frontiers of Portugal, were every where open, or that the forts were so weakly garrisoned, as to give no manner of check to

* Alluding to the generous succour, sent by the court of Spain, to the Portuguese, after the terrible Earthquake, the 1st of November 1755.

to the armies of Spain, and that these were to march without the least opposition, to rendezvous upon the banks of the Tagus, and form before the palace Belem, without any obstruction, and there to act with impunity? No man need be so ridiculous, the frontiers of Portugal are better secured than those of Spain; the towns are naturally stronger, more numerous, and better fortified, and tho' the territory of Portugal be little more than a sixth part of Spain; yet there are twenty acres of waste ground in the latter, for one, that is in the former: the climate is generally more wholesome, for the breezes that come from the Atlantic ocean, fan it greatly, and these, with some lesser concomitant causes, tend so much to purify the air, and abate the intenseness of the heat, that the warmth at Lisbon, is reckoned ten times less than at Madrid, tho' the former be almost two degrees South of the latter. The inhabitants of Portugal are generally reckoned to be to those of Spain in the proportion of three to five nearly; for in the whole country of Iberia, there are about seven millions of inhabitants, two millions

lions seven hundred thousand of which are Portuguese.

The inhabitants of Portugal, my Lord, are far from being pusillanimous, as some may think fit to represent them, their history is replete with as great revolutions and grand events as that of Spain; the names of their Kings are brilliant in the annals of the age wherein they lived; their Sebastians, Emanuels, and their Alphonfos, shine with particular lustre, the efforts of the nation for Liberty, have been truly generous, their struggles for the independency every way noble, and in spight of the gloominess of their religion, they have breath'd sentiments of true heroism: their encountering the whole forces of Africa, with success, their frequent defeat of the Spanish armies, when wanting to enslave them, their three victories over these people contrary to the will of their Prince, * and their perseverance in the same sentiments hitherto, leave little room to doubt of their power, or of their ability, their en-
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* The Duke of Braganca, Anno 1641, who was but a weak man.

deavours for extending trade, and improving in commerce and manufactory, have been crowned with a success proportionable to their industry, and to the strenuousness of their efforts; the discovery of a new way to the East-Indies by the ocean, was a task reserved for the Portuguese; this was effected by Velasco de Zama in the year 1497, under the auspices of Emanuel II. King of Portugal, and will continue as a standard monument of the enterprising genius of that illustrious monarch. The Cape of Good Hope, hitherto denominated the Cape of the Storms, had not been doubled before; * their settlements in the East and West-Indies, with their acquisition of Madeira and other Islands among the Canaries, must be an argument of their address and power, while the retaining their territory, and preserving their independent

* See the beautiful Poem of *Camouens* a Portuguese gentleman who followed *Zama*, and in his description, introduces a spectre appearing to that officer, when in sight of the Cape, as walking in the depth of the Sea, his head reaching the clouds, the winds, the storms, the thunder and lightning hanging about him, his arms extended over the waves: this said he, was the Guardian of that foreign ocean, unploughed by any ship before, who now complains of his being obliged to submit to the audacious undertaking of the Portuguese.

pendance cannot fail to give suitable impressions of their strength, their wisdom and sagacity.

Can any Man, my Lord, think that the Kingdom of Portugal, by far the richest in ready money of any in Europe, would all at once tamely submit to the Spaniards, a people, to whose sway they have a natural Aversion and Antipathy ! would they be willing to relinquish their all to their natural rivals in trade and in commerce, would they easily, and without striking a stroke, deliver up the most immense treasures, and most valuable jewels, with which the Court of Portugal shines ? for it is well known that not many years have passed since a gem of the value of one hundred and twenty nine millions five hundred and fifty six thousand seven hundred and sixty three pounds was brought into Portugal from the Brazils. The forces of Portugal consist of 40,000 effective men, among whom, the most active cavalry, and their foot soldiers are capable of enduring more fatigue than the Spaniards : besides all this, they have a militia of one hundred thousand men, all well trained

trained and regular, and from these their regiments may be recruited at pleasure; nay, every peasant, especially toward the frontiers, is allowed all the accoutrements fit for a soldier, and is trained to the use of arms: Would such a people, my lord, with all these advantages, submit to the first invader, and surrender their keys into the hand of their natural enemies: Would the forts of Baduoz and Elvas on the south, or of Braganca and Meranda on the north, or of Guarda in the center, between these, make no resistance? such a conduct would be equally absurd and preposterous, as if a Spanish army was to march into the heart of Portugal, leaving these garrisons behind them. The Spanish generals were too wise to commit such mistakes, and the Portuguese government has been too provident to neglect their barrier, so that our sending forces to Portugal, was certainly an hasty step, and perhaps may have roused the Spaniards to a rupture with their neighbouring Kingdom, with a view to involve Great Britain in another destructive land war.

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Whoever pleases to consider the history of our war with Spain under the Earl of Peterborough, and in conjunction with the forces of Portugal, will soon see that the land war there, was no less expensive than that in Flanders under the Duke of Marlbro'; the nature of the climate obliged the troops twice to go into quarters: the excessive heats in Summer, which begin about the tenth of May, and continue to increase till the first of August, were as destructive to the English constitution, as the intense cold in the north of Germany, and the Spaniards always endeavour to decoy the troops of the Allies into the heart of the country, as being more hurtful for them, so that any war with Portugal may soon be expensive to the British nation, and as fatal to the English, as that unnecessary German quarrel, in which we have been engaged for these two years and a half in Westphalia and Hanover.

Nor do the annals of Queen Anne, pass over the bravery and conduct of the Portuguese! With what grand and noble Ideas do the actions of these people fill the minds of

of such as peruse them? how hard to say, which of their illustrious enterprizes, shine with the brightest lustre; glorious indeed were the effects of their military virtue, whether we consider the sagacity of the leader, or alertness of the soldier; here are to be found the leading of armies, sieges of places, taking of towns, crossing of rivers, passing defiles in the face of an enemy, vigorous attacks, honourable retreats, advantageous encampments, fights sustained, battles gained, armies vanquished by strength of genius and sagacity broke by address and dexterity, wearied out and consumed by the superiority of an unrepining patience, and conduct that was uniform.

If we, my Lord, take a view of the debates in parliament at any time upon the state of our affairs, at that period, we shall find that neither the Earl of Peterborough, Lord Tyrrawley nor the Earl of Galway, charged the Portuguese with aught inconsistent with their own interest, or with their fidelity as allies to us; no, for when the state of our losses in Spain, and at the battle of Almanza, April 25th 1707, was laid before the house, it was found

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that these miscarriages were only owing to our Ministry, it was voted, that timely recruits for Spain, had been wanting, and a scheme was brought about for hiring 7000 Palatines, 3000 Germans, and 12000 Italians, all which were embarked for Barcelona to fight the cause of the father of the ever grateful Hungarian Queen.

No person, my Lord, can consider the Portuguese soldiers, at that period, either in the field of battle, in the defending of towns, or taking of citadels, without entertaining a good opinion of them. Did they not take Alcantara by storm, and Albuquerque by capitulation; did not the Conde de Galvea thunder along the western borders of Spain, and carry consternation into the bowels of the Spanish monarchy? the kingdoms of Leon, of old, and new Castile, the Spanish Estremadura, and Andalusia, were equally terrified; and many towns sent out their magistrates with the keys of their gates to be laid before him.

But, my Lord, this faint elogium of the bravery and conduct of the Portuguese, is with no view to reconcile my countrymen to join with these

these in a war upon the continent; my view is to convince your Lordship they are in some measure capable of defending themselves; if indeed Great Britain was to join her forces with those of any other potentate, I should as soon give my approbation for uniting with the Portuguese as with the Germans; but the truth of the matter is, I am against every land war upon the Continent, and think that the sending troops to Portugal, before ever a stroke was struck by Spain, was inexpedient, hasty and incompetent.

Wars in general, my lord, ought to be avoided; the blessings of peace are preferable to any war, be it ever so successful: Every civilized nation will join in this opinion, but particularly such as depend upon trade and commerce: The Russians, notwithstanding the progress of their arms, are become sensible of it, the Swedes were so from the beginning of the war; and to this conviction may the slowness of their motions in every campaign be attributed, during the course of the present war. Every Englishman is convinced that a war upon the Continent is highly detrimental; for by it the kingdom is drained of a
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number of hands, agriculture suffers, and manufactories decay, trade languishes, and an universal grief almost prevails.

I have, my Lord, ever considered Great-Britain as a formidable animal, naturally situated in the middle of the ocean, and only capable of exerting its natural strength upon the watry element; and as a fish, be it ever so strong, would lose its strength by coming upon land, so will Great-Britain lose of her power when engaged in a land war, where nothing is to be gained; where success is doubtful, where loss of men and money are inevitable.

The pay of the private men in an army is but small, in comparison of some other things, especially when under the direction of a foreign commander: The articles for artillery, baggage, horses, mules, forage and provision, waggons, pontons, and all the requisites both in offensive and defensive fortification, with that of intelligence, are attended with an expence that is frequently exorbitant, and the generalissimo is at liberty to charge these as he pleases. Your Lordship must have heard,
that

that a certain commander, who, to the disgrace of an illustrious people, had the direction of their army, as if they had no general of their own, charged no less than 80,000 l. for a draw-bridge over a river scarce 500 yards broad ! A structure which architects skilled in the mechanism of bridges, valued at 40,000 l. your Lordship will readily allow the overplus to be a pretty perquisite for a foreign general.

The Minister whose exuberance of speech, and heated imagination procured him an ascendancy in the Senate, and a spontaneous annuity from the King, could not be ignorant of the peevishness shewn to the national troops of Great Britain, by foreign officers, when under their direction. The British forces in Westphalia have bore the burthen and weight of every campaign : The Germans have had the preference in all things, the best Quarters, the least fatigue, and the fewest dangers ; the national British Troops have been more exposed in the Field, and in the Camp, than either the Hanoverians, Hessians, or the forces of Brunswick and Zell ; the plains of Erfurth, Crevelt, Bergen, Minden and Hillinghausen, have been moisten'd with

with British blood ; the British troops have even been quartered without the lines of the German army, and between these and the enemy ; when perveyours have brought provision into the Camp, the Sons of Britain were not allowed to buy an ounce of butchers meat or bread, while the Germans were served ; and frequently have they been obliged to lye under the open air all night in their cloaths, and to sleep in the midst of an heavy rain with the bridles of their horses in their hands : What numbers have by this, contracted colds and died of them : Have not their horses dropt dead at their feet for want of sustenance ? so that the adviser of the late King, to entrust the British troops with a foreign general, will need all his Eloquence, to a measure so absurd and dishonourable in itself, and so disadvantageous to his native Country. However he has received an honourable annuity ; he has been hollowed by the Londoners more than the King himself, tho' attended by a retinue of Princes of the Blood, no less than eleven, and all born in England, but three ; a greater number than ever honour'd a Lord Mayor's feast at one time, so that as they hollowed him, and he laughed at

at them, that both parties were pleased, it would be wrong to disturb them.

But why send an army of native British subjects into Portugal, at a time when England is obliged to muster up every idle hand for forming a numerous militia, when Scotland is stript of her young Men, as the weight of the war has fallen upon that Kingdom, when Ireland is torn by a rebellious insurrection, and that our late acquisitions call for whatever Individuals can be spared? There are many poor people to be lifted upon the continent, Germans, Swiss, Palatines, and Italians are easy to be found, the revenue of Portugal, with the money brought annually from their Colonies, amounts to six millions sterling, and where there is money there will be men: By our fleet we may, at a moderate price, transport the most numerous bodies of forces to Portugal, we may protect their trade to the Brazils, to Paraguay, to Madeira, and all their settlements. Nor is this all, for the Moors may soon be stirred up to attack the Spanish Forts upon the coast of Africa, and might be furnished with Artillery, and military

rary stores, by the British merchants; in which case the court of Spain will be obliged to divide her forces, and to abandon her enterprize against the Portuguese.

I know, my Lord, that to distress Spain by introducing a war into the heart of her monarchy, will be urged as a sufficient ground for sending a body of Land forces into Portugal. But cannot Germans, Swiss and Italians do the same? Cannot these as well as natural Britons, encounter heats, want of forage, provisions, and other necessaries, and at last be cooped up in the kingdom of Valentia, where the French troops may pour down upon them, defeat them as at Almanza, and oblige the shattered remains to return thro' a country totally exhausted, in order to declare their own misfortunes, and to show the power of their enemies?

But, my Lord, will any person say, that the neighbouring Potentates, the King of Sardinia, the Emperor of Germany, or even the Courts of France and Rome can sit idle spectators, and see the Spaniards swallow up the Portuguese. Indeed France, now desperate

perate by her losses, might sit quiet, but I doubt if the others would : The Pope would thunder out his Anathemas, and the King of Sardinia at this time the best General of his age, would make a powerful diversion ; whereas, if we plunge headlong into a land-war, we run a risque of losing our forces, squandering our substance, to the manifest hurt of the labourer among ourselves, and enter upon a task, that may in five years cost Britain 100,000 men, for our regiments must be recruited frequently, and I doubt if recruits will in five years after this, be so ready as now.

In the event of a parliamentary enquiry, I flatter myself, that the sending a body of land forces, I mean native British subjects, will be found hurtful to Britain ; nay, and to Portugal, whose guardian we are ; for it will present an opportunity to our enemies of giving us a stunning blow, in consequence of which, they may regain what was conquered from them ; whereas, if we engage in no land war, further than in transporting the troops of other states into their domi-

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nions,

nions, our conquests will be preserved, our honour will be established, and Portugal itself will be more firmly secured in her trade, her independance, and every thing valuable to her. In this case the nations around will soon see that patriots are not wanting in the British senate to dispel the clouds of error that have increased our national debt, almost fifty millions more than when the royal annuitant began his administration, then will it be seen that the people of England, are not always easily prevailed on to enter into schemes that may be against their own real interest.

It will readily be allowed that Great Britain and Portugal ought to live in the strictest friendship and correspondence, peace with England, and war with all the World, is the natural maxim of a sensible Portuguese; we take from them vast quantities of the richest and finest Wines, many worthy merchants have made estates in Madeira and the other dominions of Portugal: which is the chief foreign market for our woollen and linnen manufactories, our Sheffield, Chelsea and Bir-

Birmingham wares, and no less than two millions sterling in specie is annually received from thence, for watches, clocks, types and other printing materials, snuff-boxes, tea-equipages, knives, buckles, scissars, arms, military-stores, with all kind of cutlery and toys; nor do I think it unworthy the deliberation of a British senate, for doing them the best and most important services, the most solid and substantial good; I dare say that august assembly would not vote it to consist in an improper exertion of our strength, by sending out 14,000 Britons to an unwholesome climate at a time when their presence would be more necessary elsewhere, for the service of their own country and for the more durable and solid advantage of the Portuguese.

I am, &c.

Birmingham wants, and no less than two million sterling in specie is annually received from them, for watches, clocks, guns, and other printing materials, brass, cutlery, knives, bottles, glass, and various other articles, with all kind of cutlery and toys; nor do I think it unworthy the labour of a British manufacturer, for doing them the best and most important services, the most solid and substantial good; I dare say that such an assembly would not vote it to consist in an improper extension of our strength, by sending out 14,000 Britons to an inhospitable climate at a time when their presence would be more necessary elsewhere, for the service of their own country and for the more durable and solid advantage of the Colonies.

I and 2.



LETTER II.

TO THE

Earl of B**e.

MY LORD,

HAVING troubled the Earl of E—
with some Thoughts upon the most
effectual Method of assisting the King-
dom of *Portugal* at a Time when a
violent and unprovoked Attack has been made
upon it; suffer me now to state a few Things
upon the *German War*.

I know, my Lord, that the prevailing Ar-
gument for continuing the *British Troops* Abroad,
is this, “ The *German War* has been the Con-
quest of *America*? But how the Theme can be
maintained I own is a Mystery.

I shall not trouble your Lordship with a Re-
futation of the Arguments hitherto made use of
for continuing a continental War, since there is
not

not a Coffee-Room within the Bills of Mortality, nor a common Alehouse, where these Measures are not complained of; the Labourer who suffers thro' Loss of Hands snatch'd away violently to recruit our Regiments beyond Sea, is obliged to pay twice the Wages as formerly; the Planters of Hops and Vines, the Manufacturers, and in short all kind of Mechanics, suffer thro' these Measures; and about Six Million Sterling is expended in a foreign Country, which would be better circulated among ourselves, or at least on board our Ships of War, these natural Bulwarks of our Island, and sole Defence of our commercial Interest: The Argument, my Lord, which I propose to weaken, is that "Our War in *Germany* has been the Conquest of *America*."

By the War in *Germany* being the Conquest of *America*, may be understood that the Court of *France* was put to so great Expences as to be unable to supply their *American* Colonies, properly, and as these would require: Could I, my Lord, bring myself to this Opinion, I should be the last Man in his Majesty's Dominions to write against a *German* War: The *French* and We both know the Importance of *America*; each of the Nations knows that a single Island of the *Antilles* is preferable to the whole District of *Westphalia*, or County of *Paderborn*: In the Way of Trade either the Island of *Guadaloupe* or *Martinico*, or even *St. Lucia* and *Granada*, was more advantageous to *France* than the Acquisition of large Fortresses, nay of whole Provinces on the Side of *Germany*; and I dare say that if the Court of *Versailles* did not see more Advantage
in

in bringing on a *German* War than that of tying up their Hands from defending their Colonies, they, instead of endeavouring all in their Power to create one, would strive to prevent it.

I know, my Lord, that an Army of 140,000 Men cannot be supported on Nothing; they must be supplied with all the Necessaries of War: Clothes, Acoutrements, Horses, Tents, pontoons, Provisions, and every kind of Military Stores, which in the whole may amount to one Million Sterling. The Courts of *Stockholm* and *Petersburgh* are to be brought over by Dint of Money, and the prevailing Power of Gold: That of *Vienna* is likewise to be carested by the French Ministry as things now stand, all which Subsidies may stand the Court of *France* 200,000 l. and indeed, I believe, I have admitted the Sum to be more than it really is, for *Lewis* the XIVth paid *Charles* XIIth at the utmost only 900,000 Livres, about 37,500 l. *per Annum*; two Thirds of which Sum were generally paid in *Sweden* during the Life of the late King; and at the Time of the unnatural Union between the Houses of *Bourbon* and *Austria*, the old Pension of 37,500 l. became necessary: The Court of *Petersburgh* had double that Sum paid into her Exchequer, and Sixty Thousand Pounds were remitted from *Paris* to *Vienna*, by the Way of *Holland*, for the same Purpose; all which Sums put together amount to 135,000 l. yearly, which with the Maintenance of their Army, formerly mentioned, amounts at a Medium to 1,135,000 l. and admitting that the King of *Poland* receives at this Time
30,000 l.

30,000*l.* from *France*, and several of the petty Princes smaller Sums from 10, to 5000*l.* yet how far short do all these Subsidies come of that single Remittance of 670.000*l.* annually paid without Discount to the King of *Prussia*.

The standing Armies of *France* at this Time, my Lord, amount to 430,000 effective Men, and were very little less at the Beginning of the War, 140000 of which marched under the Command of the Count d'*Etrees*, into *Westphalia*, which in less than two Months they overrun; the Battle of *Hastenbeck* paved the Way for the Reduction of *Hesse Cassel*, the Electorate of *Hannover*, and the other German Dominions of the King of *Great Britain*, and these became an Arsenal for furnishing the *French* Armies with every Convenience.

The Electorate of *Hannover*, my Lord, had been enriched exceedingly since the Beginning of the present Century; the City itself, the Capital from being little better than *Old Brentford upon Thames*, raised its Head, and became one of the finest in *Lower Saxony*; it even vied with *Munich*, or *Dresden*: Many new Streets had been added to it, stately and lofty Palaces had adorned these; the Courts were spacious and beautiful, and the Gardens of *Herehausen* were but little inferior to those of Lord *Burlington* at *Chiswick*, or even those of *Versailles*.

The brilliancy of the most numerous and splendid Court in *Europe*, every second Year tended to enrich the Tradesman the Peasant and the Mechanic, so that at the Time when the
Marquis

Marquis d'Armentiers by a feint crossed the *Wefer* with 14,000 Men and Ten Pieces of Cannon, on the 25th of July 1757, they entered the best cultivated, the richest and most flourishing Country in the *German* Empire, and what was of singular Utility they became Masters of the whole Corps, and Harvest of the Husbandman, which that Year was remarkably rich and exuberant.

Crops

From the Time the *French* Army crossed the *Rhine*, and had Access to East *Friesland* and the other Territories of the King of *Prussia*, their support and Maintenance became exceeding easy to the *French* King: The Countries adjacent except such as belonged to the States of *Holland* were on some pretext or other laid under Contribution! Provision and Forage of all kind abounded in the *French* Camp; Horses were furnished for remounting their Cavalry, nay whole Regiments of Dragoons that marched on Foot into the Empire, were supplied with Horses, so soon as the Conquest of *Hannover* was effected; and at this very Time above two Thirds of the *French* Cavalry, consist of *Hessian* and *Hannoverian* Horses, their *German* Regiments were entirely recruited, and in a Word the Contributions raised by the *French* are sufficient to subsist any Army of 140,000 Men. But, my Lord, in what Principality or District do the *British* Forces raise Contributions? or in what Country belonging to *France* has any one Corps of the whole allied Army, now in the Pay of *Great Britain*, raised a Sixpence; or have taken either a Beast of Burden or yet

a Beast of Prey? Indeed by the doubtful Fortune of War, whole Squadrons have been obliged to submit to the Arms of the Allies, but these Losses, my Lord, are reciprocal: the Weight and Burden of the whole War falls upon the *British* Nation; the Cavalry, so often distressed for want of Forage and even Stabling, have frequently been remounted with *English* Horses, which would be much better employed in ploughing the Ground, or carrying Home the Harvest of the Farmer and Planter; nay the very Victuals that go into their Mouths comes from *England*, to the rendering these dearer among ourselves, and to the involving the labouring Poor in Want and in Calamity: In short, my Lord, the supplying a *French* Army in *Germany* did not take one Hand from one of the Ports of *France*, their Navy was not impaired by it, their Marines and Seamen were not lessened, and tho' the raising of an Army at first might cost *France* 1,00000 Sterling from the Time of their Rendezvous to their entering the Circle of *Westphalia*, yet it was easy to them, since by this Measure the Court of *London* was involved in a War, the Charges of which amount yearly to little less than Six Million, besides the Subsidy paid to the King of *Prussia*, and to the Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*.

But, my Lord, the Conquest of a *America* proceeded from another Fountain: The Wisdom of the *Irish* Parliament gave the first Stunning Blow to the Schemes of *France*, for when a Fleet lay at *Brest* Anno 1755 expecting Provisions from *Cork* and *Waterford*, behold all of

a sudden an Order came for laying an Embargo on all Shipping, and a severe Prohibition for carrying any Provisions out of that Kingdom; the Consequence was, the *French* Fleet did not sail at that Time, and before any Part of them put to Sea, Admiral Boscawen was with a Squadron at Cape Briton.

By this the *French* Colonies were left to their own Settlers, without any Assistance from their Mother Country ; and as these were more Numerous than our Settlers, so the Consequence was, that We were reduced to the greatest Calamities untill the Succours from *Great Britain* meerly owing to our Superiority at Sea arrived to support them : Our little Success at the Beginning of the War was owing to this palpable Reason, “ the *French* Nation was prepared, but we were not ”: Places even of the most Importance were bare and almost destitute, and it is observable that the *French* Court never thought seriously of a *German* War till after the Arrival of the *British* Forces at *Hallifax*, “ ’Twas then the Scheme was laid by the Duke de *Nivernois*, of entering into an Alliance with the Court of *Vienna*, as it was foreseen that the King of *Prussia* would, in Consequence of that Step, become the Ally of *Great Britain*, whose Expences would be now more than ever : And to the entire satisfaction of *France*, a War in *Germany* was kindled, the whole Weight of which falls upon *Great Britain*, who is now likewise involved in an other by sending National *British* Troops to assist the *Portuguese*.

But,

But, my Lord, a third cause of the Conquest of *America* flow'd from the Valour of our Troops, and the Conduct of our Admirals, added to the Stupidity and disgrace-full Behaviour of the Enemy. Examine my, Lord, the Conduct of M. *Conflans* on the 20th of November, 1759, And say if any Thing could have equalled the Stupidity and, Cowardice of the *French* Commanders? for instead of drawing up their Fleet to receive Admiral Hawke, as M. de *Galissonier* did his for the Reception of M. *Byng*, they sailed away leaving the Sternmost Ships as a Prey, and vainly expecting to decoy our Ships into the shallow Water, in Order that our Fleet might be destroyed: And did ever a Place of Strength yield with so feint a Resistance as *Martinico* did to General *Monckton*? In a Word my Lord: I don't see that any one Officer or Governor belonging to *France* has behaved with any tolerable degree of Honour, in any Part of the Globe except the Governor of *Pondicherry* in the *East-Indies*, and M. de *St. Croix* at *Belle Isle* on the Coast of *Brittanny*: This last Gentleman acted every Way like a Man of Honour, a brave Officer, and so as to draw an universal Respect from every Man, who has the least Relish of Military Virtue: Their want of Timber, the taking their Ships from Sweden with Cordage, Iron and other Materials, was another source whence flowed the Conquest of *America*.

Can it, my Lord, be supposed that the Kingdom of *France* by far the most powerful in *Europe* as consisting of 20,000000 of Inhabitants
and

and paying a Revinue of 20,000000 Sterling is impoverished by sending an Army of 140,000 Men into the Empire, especially as they lay every District under Contribution the moment they pass the *Rhine*: How can the War in *Germany* be the Conquest of *America*, when that which occasions a Drawback upon the Forces, the Revenues, and Designs, of *France* is six Times more a Clogg upon our own.

The Arguments, my Lord, against any continental War are endless: And tho' your Lordships Predecessor in Office held continental Connections as the Essentials of his Administrations, pray let not your Lordships tread in his Steps: His Views were most evidently neither to enrich himself nor to aggrandize his Country; for entering upon the Possession of a plentiful Fortune, before he attained Prudence or Wisdom to manage it, he acted the *Don Quixotte* in squandering his Income, and became the Ridicule of all who saw him; ever wavering, ever unmeaning, and quite ignorant of the Policy, Interest, and Constitution of his Country, he gave himself up to Voluptuousnes, and studying Cookery; the Jews, the Butchers, and Bakers were impoverished by him: The most prejudicial Schemes were followed, the most flagrant Corruption practised; and Measures, ever destructive to the original Design of Parliaments, were generally pursued; while the Poor were loaded with Taxes, and the Price of Beer was raised. Of you better Things are expected: You are much more obliged to Nature in every Respect than he; your Genius, your Application

to Business, your Study of Men and Things, and the great Progress you have made both in Speculative and practical Learning, have raised the Hopes of your Country. To you, my Lord, do they owe the prodigious Favour of being blessed with a King endowed with every publick and private Virtue; from your Lordship he learned the Principles of true Honour, and became sensibly acquainted with the several Branches of true and useful Knowledge; your Lordship made him enamoured with Botany, Agriculture, and the other fine Arts; More indebted to your Lordship than *France* was to *M. de Fenelon*, every *Briton* possessed of the small Tincture of Generosity, or glowing with the least Mark of Gratitude, do thank you with a publick Voice: Envy is dumb; Factions themselves must vie in your Encomiums.

The childish Amusements, and trifling Employments, too frequent about Courts, had never got the Ascendant over the Mind of the *British Telemachus*, the Eye of *Mentor* being constantly upon him; and, tho' these might for a while obscure a little of that precious Seed which had been sown in his Heart, and which ought to have brought forth Fruit in Abundance, yet no sooner did he take into his Hands the Reins of Government, than the great Principles he had imbibed, and which had taken deep Root during the Course of his Education, had entirely got the upper Hand. The Death of his Grandfather made the first Impression: The Marriage-Bed, which is but a Fore runner and Emblem of the Death-Bed, tended to mollify the

the more: And the finishing Stroke he received at his Coronation; when conceiving a Surfeit of wordly Greatness and observing the Vanity of earthly Splendour, he set his Mind upon the King of Kings. It was a delightful Sight to see a young Man passing in all the Pomp of Majesty, and all the Splendour of Greatness, beckoning to crowded Multitudes with his Hands, his Head, and the whole of his Deportment! How amiable the Expression, "I dont chuse to take the Sacrament with the Crown upon my Head, for I am in the Presence of the King of Kings:" And again, pray read over the Oath distinctly, for "I am in the Presence of God, and resolve to observe it" To your Lordship as the *British* Mentor, do we own these singular Favours; and to your Lordship are due the most grateful Returns. The Greatness of your Lordships Birth did prognosticate the happy Event from the Time the Kings Education was committed to you; but indeed the Issue had exceeded the warmest Wishes, and the most sanguine Expectations.

Your Lordships illustrious Ancestor, Sir *John Stuart* of *Bute*, stood in a Field of Blood against King *Edward* the First, when seeking to enthrall his Country. The memorable 22d of *July*, 1397, will for ever remain in History, for on that Day did the Hero, your Progenitor, stand against the united Forces of the King of *England*, when the Guardian giving Way to an ill-tim'd Resentment stood at a Distance, and *Cumming* the Traitor withdrew with the Troops under his Command. Your Lordships
Progenitors

Progenitors by the Father have been ever remarkable and noble: Nor do those on your Mothers Side deserve to be forgot by the Children of Freedom; the Noble Marquis and Earl of *Argyle* died for the Protestant Religion, and Liberties of their Country. Your illustrious Great Grand-father, Lieutenant General *Talmash*, died in an Attempt upon *Brest*, Anno 1695: An Attempt the most enterprizing that was ever tried by a *British* General. Every Thing has concurred to fill the Mouths of the grateful; the rapid Progress of his Majesty's Arms under your Lordships Administration; the happy Influences from a narrow Inspection into the Treasury since your Lordships Advancement, the Countenance given to the Learned, the Encouragement of Merit and Improvement in every useful Virtue, must gladden the Heart, while the Engines of *France* and *Rome*, by inventing falshood and propagating Calumny only show a Spirit of Malignity, and like a Cloud before the Sun must soon be dissolved to make that luminary shine the brighter: Silent then be the Voice of Clamour! Let Discontent and murmuring, like the Viper gnawing the File, disappear as ashamed, and let the Obstinate look upon the Ocean while it is calm, and sooner be able to raise Tempests there than to disturb the universal Joy, which reigns in every generous Breast, upon the Thought that a Sovereign has preferred a Man of Birth, Family, Years, Experience, and Synpathy, to sit at the Head of his Treasury: And that a *British* Telamachus copied so well from a *British*

tish Mentor,. Your Country expects that the Sovereign will soon see into the destructive Ills that attend any continental Connections, that the very best way to secure the Ascendancy of *Great Britain* will be to intimate to her Enemies at the Conclusion of the Peace, that there are not to enter into *Hanover* or *Portugal* without feeling the whole Weight of our Marine: By this Means, both the one and the other will be free from Invasions, and *Britain* living in Peace, many of the heavy Taxes imposed by former Administrations will be abolished and cease; Instances like to the noble Example of remitting Duties and Taxes to be found in the sacred Records will then grace the *British* Annals! Sons unborn will find no Alloy to their Gladness when reading of your Administration except it be to observe that some Underlines have ventured to reflect upon your Lordship for the Birth Place of your Progenitors, since if to be descended from a Scots Lineage is a Crime, then the Sovereign upon the Throne is equally culpable.

A Mans Birth-Place, my Lord, is a small Recommendation, whether he be born in a Palace or in a Manger; whether in *Fleet-Market* or among the Snows of *Siberia*: But if the Place of Nativity be a favourable Circumstance, then happily for your Lordship, you are descended from a Race of *Britons*, whose Lineage can be traced to the first Ages of Antiquity: Your Lordship is of a Country whose Natives are admired at Home for Fidelity, re-

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galed in every Clime for Strictness of Discipline, and dreaded for Intrepidity; they have proved a Blessing to every Nation where they have been preferred. To *St. Patrick*, a North Briton, is *Ireland* indebted for the first preaching of Christianity: The City of *Danzick* owes her Being to a *Douglafs*; *Sweden* owes her Glory to the *Scots*; and a Native of *Scotland* was the first to infuse Principles of Humanity into the Heart of *Peter the Great*! In *France* the Name of *Colbert* will be immortal! and to North Britons is owing the late Conquest of *America*! The Retaining of which I hope shall be a *sine qua non*, of the Peace, come when it will.

Your Lordships Address and Fidelity, your Revival of the Way of Living in the Days of *Queen Elizabeth*, your Justice to Tradesmen; your Affection as an Husband, your Tendernefs as a Parent, your Bounty as a Peer, your Penetration as a Counsellour, your Wisdom as a Minister, and your Sobriety as a Man, leave no Room to doubt of your directing the Finances to other Purposes than that of raising Divisions in Countys and Boroughs, to the keeping up the old Character of being envious and fickle, with which the *English* are stigmatized.

F I N I S.

